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984 her sisters and mother. Here again the father is excluded. The mother's
573 brother should carry firewood for her and bring presents of food. In
[83] general he is expected to dance attendance, and his failure to do so may lead to resentment and reproaches from his sister. The gifts and attention the mother receives at this time are considered an encouragement to care properly for the child, as though she would otherwise be neglectful. They also serve to assert the claim of the woman's family on the infant. There are instances of affinal kin's having been so enraged at what they felt to be the negligence of parents that they have taken violent action. (For a case in point see Mangma's autobiography, page 212.)

846 The father of the child, meanwhile, is supposed to refrain from any vigorous work such as digging, chopping wood, or rat hunting. He idles about, inactive and without any definite function, in a household centering around his wife and child, who are in the hands of his affinal kin.

755 Should the child be sickly in the early weeks of life, the mother is sure to question the father about his activities during this period of seclusion. He will rack his brains to recall any infringement of the prescribed precautions. Once he remembers, it is easy enough to undo the harm by picking some leaves at the place of transgression, confessing his error, and at the same time urging the soul of the child to enter the leaves. He then goes home and strokes the sick child's head with the leaves, after dipping them in water. The straying soul returns and the child recovers.

573 The father is obviously in a peculiar position. Although he is responsible for the child and has an intimate connection with its well-being, he is at the same time without any positive functions and has only restrictive obligations.

The extent of the father's responsibilities in the face of his disfranchisement is illustrated by a case where the child died in infancy. Fantan had already lost two sons shortly after birth. His lineage was deficient in males and he was unusually worried when the latest child, four days after birth, began to cry excessively and refuse the breast.

[755] His wife's kin and interested neighbors divined to discover which spirits might have been offended. The process was repeated several times, and each time it was Fantan who had to pay for the divination and for the animals necessary to placate the offended supernaturals. It cost him approximately two rupiahs and five chickens. Since he was working for wages in my service, he was particularly liable to be asked for payments in Dutch currency. The outlay represented about two weeks' work, yet he was hardly ever present during these efforts to discover and treat the source of the child's illness.

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intends to sleep with him. When a young man ties up his long hair and walks with bells on his basket, women watch until he has passed by, and then they say, 'Isn't that a fine man!' and begin to hoot. If he wears a big white shawl from the coast, women will say, 'There goes my white chicken!' and then they hoot. The young man feels glad but also a little ashamed. Also, when a young man begins to versify at a dance and his voice rings out clear and strong, the next day the women will say, 'Don't we have a fine man in our village!' and then they will hoot. When there is a dance, the young man will hunt for areca and betel the day before so as to fill up his basket. When he reaches the dance place on the night of the dance, all the young women will crowd around him and hold out their hands for areca. If one woman comes back again and again for more areca, it is a sign that they already want each other, and soon they will go off and make an agreement. Then the girl says he must go find her bride-price."

This comment sets, better than any outsider could, the pattern of masculine vanity, which often persists through life and which is recognized as a male trait. Consistent with this newly developed swagger, other changes occur in young men's lives. In the course of a few months they break away from the irresponsible free-roving play groups of growing boys and become far more solitary and sedentary. They imitate the indolence of older wealthy men. At the same time, they begin to speculate about the possibilities and the means for entering the financial system of the adults and about ways of ingratiating themselves with men of influence who may be of assistance to them. The whole question of entering financial activities will be discussed presently in connection with marriage.

One significant detail concerning food should be noted in connection with the coming of age in boys. The picture so far of the development of masculine vanity and the good-natured teasing that it involves is thoroughly familiar to us. There is another and comparable source of teasing. Boys who are beginning to show open interest in girls and to visit the village of someone they find attractive will be teased by older people with comments like the following, "Padama has gone to visit his wife in Karieta. When boys grow up, the food their mother cooks no longer tastes good. They have to go to the house of a young woman to eat." This kind of teasing makes the younger boys squirm with embarrassment much as it would in our society. A few years later a young man will insist on a midday meal, even if he has to cook it himself, as a symbol of the adult status he is struggling to acquire. The extent to which food and courting ideas can be linked is also exemplified in the follow-

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585 age, but her kinsmen are always ready to remind her of her original loyalties. She usually arrives at her husband's house with a bundle of wood or some corn as a symbol of her readiness to take up cohabitation.
[183] Again, however, this is the formal rather than the usual procedure.
[591] Quite often a very young girl may live in the house with her future husband, because "if she cooks for the man, his heart will remember mokos and he will want to pay her family." On many other occasions a girl will refuse to go through with the physical aspects of marriage, although the financial ones have been arranged for her and a first moko payment has been made. This reluctance will be discussed subsequently where sexual material *is* treated in greater detail.

602 If, however, a marriage does crystallize, the husband, after making
583 the first payment, is free to call on his affinal kin for the first dowry return whenever he is in need of it. Similarly his affinal kin will dun him for further kafuk payments as they need them. The liquidation of the bride-price and dowry terms may take the better part of a lifetime. Meanwhile, however, there has been carried on between the two groups of affinal kin a series of exchanges in pigs of the so-called paheh and fila type. These are not standardized and agreed upon ahead of time. The
[183] number of animals exchanged should theoretically be equal in value, but the outcome depends on the fluctuating bargaining power of the individuals concerned. The extent to which each group of kin is involved in death feasts, the building of lineage houses, and the establishment of new marital obligations will determine the frequency and size of the demands they make upon each other. The result is that a young
[183] man is often fearful of marrying a girl whose male kin are too rich and influential, because he may not have the resources to meet the requests to which such a marriage exposes him.

● 431 In addition to the larger bride-price–dowry exchanges there are
583 the so-called free gifts (*punghe* and *siengma*). Actually, the punghe
602 gifts are considered the man's payments on actual or potential offspring and may be one of the chief avenues for minor exploitation. Stated conversely, these gifts provide a man the opportunity to show himself either large-handed or niggardly. Propriety demands that each child be represented by a minimum of four punghe gifts, which means four piglets. The corresponding siengma, or vegetable gifts of rice and corn, are such foods as the wife has been able to persuade her parents to contribute to any feast undertaken by her husband. Actually, a boy who is not yet married and who wishes to placate his potential and grasping
431 affinal kin may begin by giving punghe gifts before he pays his first
602 real bride-price or cohabits with his wife. In addition, there is another

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form of gift from a husband called "roastings" (*bisting*). He brings a small pig to his affinal kin's feast, slaughters and cooks it there, and disposes of its meat himself; he does not turn it over to his father-in-law for distribution. However, he is felt to be adding to the ostentation of the occasion by cooking at the site of the feast. 431 602

So far I have been describing affinal exchanges as though they occurred only between the husband and his wife's father or brother. Actually most financial exchanges between men are phrased as affinal ones. Thus a man may enter into financial transactions with the husbands of any female kin he calls *vi mayos*, i.e., female child. This includes all his nieces and cousins reckoned bilaterally. Such exchanges also are called dowries (*moling*) and bride-prices (*fila*) but they do not affect the original agreement between a man and his affinal kin. A sister's son also is called a *vi mayos*. In this case the term means a male child through a female kin. Such a vi mayos may ask his mother's brother for financial help (*moling*), on the supposition that the maternal uncle is paying dowry on his sister. There are, of course, still wider ramifications of these bride-price–dowry exchanges, but they need not be discussed in this connection. 437 602 [583] [604]

Perhaps one of the best indexes of what marital finances may mean is revealed in cases of divorce. At such times tallies of sticks or pebbles are laid down in separate rows by each side to represent the kafuk and paheh versus the moling and fila payments. As a rule the punghe and siengma exchanges are not counted unless there is a good deal of ill feeling and consequently financial pressure is being brought to bear on one or the other principals. As each tally is named in connection with the occasion of payment, witnesses may be called upon to substantiate the correctness of the claim. These witnesses are usually people who have some financial interest in the settlement. However, since such financial exchanges are invariably public affairs and so much a matter of common knowledge, skill in divorce reckonings depends more on memory than on chicanery. The objective is to balance bride-price payments against dowry payments. 586

Since such reckonings are the favorite way for husbands, wives, and affinal kin to air their grievances, these encounters are frequent. I should hazard the guess that there averaged one a week in the Five Villages. Naturally not all led to divorce. Usually after bluffs had been called and grievances aired, the couple settled down again. Fantan's autobiography offers a nice example of such a situation. [593 602] 578

People generally seemed to sense whether the divorce reckoning was in earnest or not, but whether or not it was serious never seemed to de- 586

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the poison her husband had made over a piece of areca-nut shell she had 586
discarded. The young woman, when I saw her, was depressed and ill. She apparently felt herself in an impasse.

Cases of this sort are relatively rare. Women as a rule are too valuable to go begging in this fashion, and anyone with enough vigor and maturity can get herself out of such a dilemma, as reference to the autobiographies will show.

ENTERING MARRIAGE FINANCE

So far this discussion of marriage has been primarily concerned with 584
its formal structure, its influence on stabilizing relationships, and the position in which it places women in relation to their male kin. How a young man enters the financial game, with marriage and sex as motivations, needs some elucidation. The mode of entry presents a wide range—from those young men who are on good terms with wealthy fathers willing to set them up in marriages agreeable to them, to those young men who have no solicitous kin willing to, or able to, assist and who must break into the system through their own initiative.

The situation of the young man whose way is smoothed by the co-operation of a willing father needs little elaboration. The men's autobiographies set this picture in part. It is worth noting that elder kin are often genuinely concerned about procuring a wife for a young man. If [834]
a youth becomes involved with a woman, her relatives may precipitate a public scandal and force a marriage. This places the boy's elders at a disadvantage in bargaining. However, the case of a young man who opposes his father's choice and that of a young man who must make his way unaided may be illustrated in two incidents given here in some detail for the light they throw on human relationships.

Atamau was a young man of about seventeen whose elderly father, Mobikalieta, had found it financially convenient about a year before to accept as partial payment for a debt a friend's immature daughter, who was to become the wife of his son. Atamau resented the girl because as his age-mates said, "He wants someone who is old enough to sleep with." The matter had been in abeyance for about a year, but to a 431 ●
house-building feast in which the old father was a partner, the young 584
girl was sent with a food contribution in her own right. This constituted a sort of public declaration of the validity of her marriage. When she arrived on the dance place, Atamau flew into a rage and knocked her basket of food to the ground, saying she was not his wife and had no right to contribute food.

The father was angry and turned on his son, who then openly re- 584
593

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607 kafuk at one time, since his older brother had recently indulged in that
588 bit of ostentatious financing. As Senlaka said, "They made me ashamed. It is not as though I were not an orphan. Now it has been three weeks since I have been to their house." In the meantime Senlaka had tried to
● [431] placate his future affinal kin by furnishing at different times ten piglets as free gifts (*pangbe*).

426 During these negotiations Senlaka was trying his best to force Mali-
636 seni to make the promised repayment on the moko he had lent him and Maliseni was putting him off with promises. Maliseni said that he had to wait until a man in a distant village gave a death feast, at which time he would receive payment on an outstanding obligation. Feasts are always held much later than the promised date, so only after much delay did Senlaka finally think he was to get the promised moko. When Maliseni returned, however, he "spoke nicely" to Senlaka, saying that unfortunately another creditor had insisted upon being paid but that if Senlaka could give him an additional moko, he, Maliseni, could repay both of them with an even higher valued moko that he expected to receive soon. Senlaka was furious. In telling me the whole story he said, "Here older men just try to cheat the young ones. It is a lot of trouble to get married here. Countries where there are no gongs and mokos and where you don't have to buy a wife are better."

In the interim another man heard of Senlaka's difficulties and said that if Senlaka would litigate for the return of his original moko—which would mean abandoning the hope of interest—a better deal could be arranged. When Senlaka broached the matter to Maliseni, the latter tried to dissuade Senlaka on the plea that such a procedure would shame him. Senlaka, however, stood firm and finally Maliseni returned a moko worth the original loan. After four months Senlaka was ready to start all over again with the help of another and, hopefully, more trustworthy older man.

584 In discussing the relationships involved, Senlaka admitted that the girl's two older brothers were inclined to press him less hard than her youngest brother and her mother. When I questioned him about the girl's attitude, his first answer was the traditional one, namely, that she stayed out of the family bickerings. Finally he admitted that she had told her brothers that if she could not marry Senlaka she would ask the kapitan for a tax bill. This was a way of saying that she would ask to have masculine status, that she would marry no one, and that her brothers would receive no bride-price on her at all. In view of the fact that theoretically, and often actually, a woman caught in such conflicts is expected to support the financial interests of her kinsmen as opposed

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berku, and Kafakberku had five dead, one of whom was a woman. Of 721
the casualties only three occurred in open fight, the others were through 726
ambush and treachery. It should be stressed, however, that the use of
the word *treachery* in English gives the act a derogatory quality that the
Alorese do not recognize.

The termination of this last war came with the death of the File
woman. Dikinpe people took the initiative in paying for her murder.
Since the score was five to five at this point settlement could be ar-
ranged honorably by go-betweens, and thirty dollars in mokos and
gongs kept the File people from joining the war. At about this time also
the Dutch were insisting upon the termination of head-hunting. How-
ever, some twenty years later the Kewai and Atimelang people were [571]
still suspicious of each other and there were very few contacts between
the villages, although they were only about an hour-and-a-half's walk-
ing distance apart.

The fact that bereaved kin are not necessarily the ones who take di- 602
rect vengeance does not mean that they are absolved from responsi- 721
bility but, characteristically, that responsibility is financial. They must 432
buy a head to match the one lost by a relative. Actually a head itself is
not always necessary. Tokens for a person killed or wounded but not
decapitated are acceptable. In such transactions there are six sellers and
six buyers. The sellers (*nanus*) are the persons who were present at the
death and who counted coup on the head. The buyers (*kanunuma*)
consist of specific kin, such as a brother, and the first five Male Houses
of the deceased. The prices for heads naturally vary. The maximum ex-
penditure I have recorded amounts to approximately one hundred and
twelve dollars in gongs, mokos, weapons, and pigs.

The ceremonial accompaniments of such transactions are slight and 432
slovenly in execution, as are all ceremonial procedures in Atimelang. 262
The sellers of a head bring it to their village in a basket filled with 727
ashes. The basket is hung in a bamboo thicket and ignored until the
payoff, which may be years later. The first two killers are under a rice
taboo for six days. They may eat only corn served them in the inner
woven compartment of an areca basket that is kept covered with a
serving basket. The eaters take a handful and rapidly cover the con-
tainer again. This is to prevent the ghost of the dead man from contami- [778]
nating the food and making his slayers particularly susceptible to
revenge. On the sixth day the buyers make a rice roll with a head and
limbs. The chief seller shoots this food effigy and may thereafter eat
rice. The sellers then give the chief buyer bananas, pigs, and chickens, [431]
which are cooked and eaten on the spot by the five other buyers. That 602

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is, the closest lineal kin of the murdered man receives from the sellers gifts of which he does not partake, whereas the more distant Male House kin may eat freely of the food. This parallels the procedure in death feasts, at which close kin of the dead refuse food. After this lifting of taboos, payments are in order, but, as in the payoff of death feast obligations, they may not be made for many years. This preliminary procedure is simply a token of an obligation undertaken. In 1938 and 1939 there were still such outstanding obligations awaiting settlement, although no heads had been taken for at least twenty years.

If an enemy kills a man but does not have a chance to decapitate him, the home village of the victim itself decapitates him, puts the head in an ash-filled basket, and hangs it in a bamboo thicket or on a remotely located platform. Before putting it aside, however, the six potential buyers of revenge shoot arrows into the head of their kinsman and urge his soul to go out and find six sellers, that is, six avengers. The head is "fed" every few days and whenever it smells food it is supposed to cry. This assures the kin that the head is still there and that it has not been stolen by an enemy for resale.

In all this system of revenge the head is actually of minimal importance. One can sell the fact of a death without producing the head. On the other hand, any head will do if a lineal kin wishes to buy one and make an honorific (i.e., financial) settlement for a death. In such a case, a stolen head will do as well as any other.

At the payoff for the head the sellers must first be appeased, and, as in all financial settlements of this sort, there are hours and hours of haggling, of derogations, of threatened withdrawals, and of attempted chicanery. When claims of the various ranks of creditors have been met, the climax of the ceremony is to bring the head onto the dance place. Since the real head has usually long since disintegrated or been lost, a cowrie shell or a stone wrapped in coconut fiber can be substituted. The bundle is woven into a closed coconut-leaf container like those made for cooking raw rice and is lashed to the end of a pole. A volunteer, who is paid a small fee, stands with the pole and its bundle on the village boundary. He calls the buyers to come fetch the sellers and the bundle. The buyers and their female kin assemble in full regalia in front of the head bundle and begin "dancing" it into the village.

The dance is a vigorous challenge dance resembling the gestures used by men in debate. This dancing of an object into the village is also used for house posts, valuable mokos, spirit-bird bundles, and any prized objects. The sellers follow this procession. Once on the dance

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Now I want to talk about Fuimakani of Awasi, the woman I almost married. When I was staying in Awasi as a young man, she came to me and said, "My husband does not give me any of the good things he gets; he does not take care of me. If he digs up a tuber, he goes up in his tree house to eat it and gives me nothing. I don't want to be married to him any more. Let us run away to your village." At that time there were six of my kin and five others, eleven in all, harvesting rice together. This woman wore anklets, so we could always hear her coming. She came during the day, looked at me, and smiled. In the evening she came again and smiled at me. She said I had better stop work and return with her to the village now. In the morning she came again and smiled at me. My kin all mentioned this and said that she wanted me. I thought too that she wanted me. We went to sit under her house and she brought me areca and betel. As she gave them to me she said, "You and your kin eat this." Then she cooked rice and gave it to me and my kin. I ordered Lanmau to take back the serving basket but he wouldn't. No one would take back the basket, so I took it back myself. She said, "Tomorrow you cannot leave. In two days we shall leave together to go to your village." That night my father had dreamed and he said to me, "Last night I dreamed you had a shaved head. This means that if you stay here you will die. Today we must return or you will die." The woman didn't want us to go. We started to go, and her family came and gave us areca and said, "You cannot go until tomorrow." But my father said we had to return right away. So the woman stayed behind. I liked her and she liked me, but because of the dream we had to go back. When I reached my village I was sick anyhow.

The night before I left I was threshing rice, and the woman came to me and asked me not to return. I said I had to leave the next day. She said, "You had better go day after tomorrow. Tomorrow we shall hunt rice and then we can leave together the day after tomorrow. I can't go now because I must wait for the rice and moko my father will give me for my dowry. My father has gone to get areca and betel. I must wait for him to return and fill my basket."

I came back here to Atimelang and in seven days I returned to Awasi. Someone must have told her husband, because the man and woman had fought and exchanged blows. She was sick and was staying in her house sleeping, so I didn't go up to see her. I just came back home. Now this woman is dead. Before she was pregnant, my wife and I used to go to trade at Ayakingliking, where she would come with her husband. We used to go off and sit together. Every market day she would give me presents of kanari nuts. She used to say to me, "Oh, my

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one end of a space and ten at the other. We each had one arrow to start with and we got all those we shot into the targets. I hit them all and got twenty arrows. Then I stopped and went back to the village. The others kept on trying until all the arrows were given away. There were ten contestants.

When I was about sixteen, my younger brother, Senmani, and Fantan were outside the house. Padalani came along with his younger brother, Atama, and one other person. We were playing a circle game. Padalani said he had tagged Fantan as Fantan tried to escape from the circle. Fantan said he hadn't. We began fighting. Padalani and I were very angry. We fought with cassava stalks and he hit me on the head. Then I took a peastalk and hit his head. Padalani picked up a stone and threw it at me. It hit my head and blood streamed down, so I went to Manikalieta, the former chief of Dikimpe. We all sat down on the ground in front of him [as is customary in litigation]. He fined Padalani twenty-five cents. He paid for his fault. Then the chief said, "Another time are you going to fight or not?" I said we wouldn't fight any more. The chief asked, "Are you going to act like father and child?" and I said we were. Then he asked Padalani the same things. We promised not to exchange blows any more and if we fought to fight only with words. The chief then told us to go.

When we went away, Padalani called me and said, "I've made you bleed, so we had better be friends." He gave me a chicken and fifteen cents. Later when Padalani fed his Rui Nai [a form of sacred hearth], I gave him a pig to sacrifice. Then he set food out for me. He didn't speak but just looked at the food, and I knew it was for me. I took it and ate it. When the Yetok feast was given [customary time for exchanging food gifts], he gave me young corn, fish, coconuts, and rats. I gave him meat my father had, and rats and coconuts too.

Once Padalani called me to go hunt rats on a level place. Padalani got seven. We went to make a playhouse and built a fire. We set out flat stones and fed them, calling on our ancestors to come eat. There was a scorpion in the stones and it bit my thumb. I cried. Padalani told me to hold out my thumb and he would urinate on it. He opened his loincloth and urinated on my finger to cure it. [Interpreter and informant giggle a bit at this point.]

The next day Padalani called me again to come to the field house. We got a rat and I cut a banana stalk to eat. While we were cooking, three men—Lakafani, Fankalieta, and Maleta—came into the house. The house was weak and collapsed when the three men entered. I fell

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and we wanted each other. At that time I was separated from my wife, Tilamau. If Tilamau had divorced me I would have married that woman. There was a heavy rain and I was sitting in my house. This woman came and saw me sleeping. She woke me up and said she had just cooked some food. I said, "I am sleeping now. Tomorrow." The woman said, "No, we must go to my house and sleep." She left. Then she came again to borrow fire. Her mother called. I didn't want to go, but her mother kept calling insistently, so I went. Her mother had cooked sweet potatoes and corn, so we ate. The woman opened a sleeping mat and told me to sleep, but I said I had to go back to the house before sleeping. I left and didn't sleep there. [Angry?] No, she was not angry with me. Then the next morning I sharpened my knife to go cut weeds, and so did this woman. I went to cut weeds and two women from Kuyamasang called and asked who was cutting the field. I said that I was. The women said I couldn't, but my two elder cousins said I was their younger brother and I could. There was a quarrel. All Makangfokung sided with me. Then the three of us cut the field on a profit-sharing basis—I, Maliemai, and Lonkamo. This girl had a garden adjoining mine. She asked me to eat with her, so I went. Each day when I went to work in the garden she followed me and cooked for me in her garden. I worked five or six days and then got sore hands and had to stop. When I stopped she went to another garden to work. When I sharpened my knife she took her pots and came to cook, just as though she were really my wife.

I planted one and a half cans [seven gallons] of corn in that field. When it was ripe I didn't guard it, so the birds and rats ate a lot of it. We got one hundred and fifty bundles, sixty of large ears and ninety of small ones. They made five tins [twenty gallons] of large kernels plus three tins of small kernels, three tins of a poor grade, and four tins of black corn to feed the pigs. [What did you do with it? In answer he repeated again all this reckoning.] Part of my share I used for my mother's death feasts. [Fantan then gave the names of all the various female cousins to whom he gave corn, but he gave none to his wife or his parents-in-law. I asked if this was customary. He said it was customary to give to one's female kin and not to affinal kin. This is not true.]

We divided the corn and were carrying it in. When I was carrying it in, this girl came and asked me to eat. She offered me a cucumber, but I did not want it; so she offered me areca to chew. We stood talking. She said I should go litigate and get my bride-price back and then carry the gongs and mokos to her parents. She said we should exchange to-

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Then came the time when the men had to do a lot of trail building. The chiefs told all the women, even the widows, to cook and go with the men to work on the trail. Kolpada went with Langmai. She said to him, "Go cut wood and give it to my mother and father." So he did. I was still sleeping in the house with a fever. They didn't give me even a little of the wood. Kolpada took it all and gave it to her parents, all of it. She didn't say, "Give a little of it to your first wife." When Langmai went to do trail work, she cooked his provisions for him. [Kolmani lifted her eyebrows, rolled her eyes, and looked outraged.] I spoke to Langmai, saying, "Your wife cooked food and followed you. Now when taxes are due, she can take things to Kalabahi to sell and raise tax money for you." I ran away to stay with my uncle Padalang. I stayed four months. [Stop.] When the work was finished, Langmai came back.

Meanwhile the husband of his "sister" at Riye had died and she had married her brother-in-law. She stayed with him until her body got thin, and then she came back here. [She was apparently ill treated.] Her husband followed her. Langmai at this time had caught some shrimps and was sitting by the trail cooking them when this husband, Malbata, came along. He asked, "Is this Langmai who sits here?" Langmai said it was. Malbata said, "Give me back my bride-price." Langmai said, "I didn't drag your wife here. She came herself." Then they fought back and forth until they were tired out and couldn't fight any more. Malbata tied the tail of Langmai's loincloth to his own and said, "Now we shall sit here together until you pay my expenses." [Stop.] At that time I wanted to go to Rualmelang, but Malbata's first wife came along and said, "Who is that woman? Perhaps it is Langmai's wife. People say he is married to a widow now [his "sister"], so we had better catch his first wife and marry her to another man for the three mokos her husband owes us." I ran away. My uncle Padalang said to her, "You must not take h[illegible] [Kolmani] away. I shall look for a husband for her. When her bride-price comes in, I shall pay it to you." He was lying, but I did not know that. Padalang then went with Malbata's wife to litigate before the chief of Hatoberka. I ran away. Langmai was called to the litigation, and again the two sat down and tied the tails of their loincloths together. [Stop.] Malbata had given the chief of Hatoberka a chicken and a Fatafa moko so the chief would pass judgment in his favor. The chief did not want to tie up Langmai, because he was his Male House. So the chief said, "He is my Male House and I do not want to tie him up. You had better tie him up yourself and take him to

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RICE CONES FURNISHED BY THE HOST IN A HOUSE BUILDING FEAST

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482
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291
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CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE WIFE'S FAMILY IN A DOWRY FEAST

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2: DuBois E-5 (1938-1939) 1941 OF5 Alor OF5

a few people who ignore the theory and plant extra corn fields or even occasional rice fields during "rat years." Yet the social fiction seems almost a rationalization of basic food attitudes in the individual. It appears to be almost an expression of infantile deprivation and helplessness. However, it is only with the utmost caution that I would suggest in any particular case that individual psychology is the direct source of an institutionalized form.

Theft and fear of theft are ramified phenomena whose implications extend beyond their application to food, but the most common type of theft is from gardens. This may be explained on two bases: one is the early theft habits of foraging play groups of boys; the other is that food is one of the few types of property which cannot be absolutely identified and which can be used without much fear of detection. For these reasons, perhaps, one sees the use of curses against theft erected most frequently in fields. These curses, made by specialists, are bamboo poles into whose cleft top are inserted the necessary combinations of magical objects. They are erected in fields where theft has occurred or where the owner fears such an occurrence. Once there, they are supposed to work automatically. A thief would develop leprosy or some other fatal or debilitating illness, and even the owner should call the specialist to remove the curse before harvesting the field. Although these curses are widely used, they seem actually to engender very little fear among most people. Certainly they in no way effectively stop pilfering. Many people are more realistic in the face of depredations and keep armed guard on their fields. A thief caught in the act runs the risk not only of having to pay a fine but also of being shot.

Another important food attitude is shown by the limited range of generosity in distributing it. An occasional guest is fed, but soon enough anyone who is obviously sponging is no longer asked to eat. In case a family runs short of corn or rice it has to buy or borrow from those who may have a surplus. But if food is borrowed, it is at rates of interest running as high as one hundred percent. This holds even between brothers. Thus Panseni wanted a hundred-ear corn bundle. He got it from his brother but had to repay it at harvest time with two corn bundles of the same size. Even feasts, which at first blush appear to be generous food distributions, are far from lavish in actuality. Each female guest brings to the feast a contribution of food. Everything brought by guests is pooled with the hosts' contributions and then redistributed so that women may carry back home but little more than they brought in the first place. Of course they do receive meat in addition, but most often the meat consists of only three or four cubes of boiled pork about two inches square. However, the quantities displayed are considerable and the hosts derive satisfaction therefrom.

I have been concerned with describing a series of childhood experiences and a series of institutionalized adult food attitudes. The experiences of individual children with respect to hunger gratifications and disciplines vary greatly; it is to be expected, therefore, that in adults these cultural attitudes toward food will vary in "the depth or shallowness of meaning in the individual's total economy." Mangma began his autobiography with early memories of a period of hunger, whereas Tilapada, who was the same age and of the same village, began the story of her childhood with quarrels between herself and other children.